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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

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SUBJECT: NIE-9: TURKEY - Suggested Terms of Reference

Problem - To estimate Turkey's position in East-West power relationships and the implications thereof.

Method - The purpose of this study is to define and analyze the effects of Turkey's pro-Western alignment and to estimate the likelihood of Turkey's continuing this alignment both under present conditions and in the event of war. The effective development of this concept will provide for the policy-maker or planner a means of assessing the importance of Turkey in East-West power relationships and consequently of determining what commitments if any should be made to Turkey.

In blocking out the project, an effort has been made to avoid considering the subject in the old, cliché-ridden terms of the strategic significance of Turkey. The aim has been to suggest a series of specific, closely related discussions which will illustrate why Turkey's friendship is important to the US in the context both of the present world situation and of certain possible developments in the future. The framework suggested below should not be taken as a rigid, definitive outline; it merely lays out the ground to be covered and suggests a convenient sequence.

Subject Matter and General ArrangementI. Turkey's Foreign Policy Orientation

A. A brief discussion of Turkey's current policy toward the USSR and its Satellites on one hand and the Western powers on the other. The discussion should be concerned primarily with Turkey's fear and mistrust of the USSR and its resistance to Soviet pressure, and its strong pro-US sentiments and dependence on US aid. Mention should be made, however, of Turkey's treaty ties with the UK and France. Mention should also be made of Turkey's position with respect to NATO and of Turkey's desire to participate in some sort of security arrangement (perhaps regional) with US backing.

B. The reasons for Turkey's pro-Western alignment. This should be an analytical presentation of the ideological, strategic, economic, and political factors involved in Turkey's position in the East-West struggle. These various factors should be weighed with the idea of determining how solid the Turkish position is. For instance, is there anything in the theory that the Turks are by nature and religion antipathetic to Communism, or is the government's strict security policy the more important consideration in Turkey's "anti-Communism"? What is the relation between Turkey's geographical position and its pro-US alignment? What is the significance of the Straits in this context? What ideological ties, if any, has modern Turkey with the US? What part do the US aid programs play in Turkey's foreign policy orientation?

Turkey's pro-US alignment merely a prolongation of Turkey's pro-UK-Fr. policy since 1938 and that Turkey's ties with the West, who were previously Turkey's bulwark against USSR.

III. Practical Results of Turkey's Pro-US Alignment

A. Internal Effects. Necessity of Turkey's maintaining costly armed forces; the effects thereof on the Turkish economy; the role of US aid.

B. Deterrent effect on Soviet/Satellite expansionism. This discussion would involve a consideration of Turkey's military capabilities against Soviet invasion and

the reasons why the USSR does not have to crack Turkey. This would be an assimilable civil population. Low. Haven't moved in for a bit. other reasons than Turkey's military capabilities.

SECRET

SECRET

- 2 -

Satellite attack and would attempt to evaluate the significance of Turkey's military strength in promoting Turkish independence and territorial integrity. It would also try to define what effect, if any, Turkey's military strength has on Soviet/Satellite aspirations ~~elsewhere~~ in the Balkan-Mediterranean-Middle East area.

C. Implications of Turkey's alignment with respect to US strategic interests in the area. This part of the paper should explore the Turks' attitude toward granting potential bases to the US and should also consider to what extent a strong Turkey affords protection for Middle Eastern oil. It should also examine the strategic importance to the US of Turkish control of the Straits.

D. The psychological effect that Turkey's resistance to Soviet pressure has on Greece, non-Communist countries in the Near East, and Yugoslavia.

III. Likelihood of Turkey's Maintaining Current Alignment

This discussion would be somewhat academic. It should, however, have a certain value in exploring possible factors which might bring about a shift in Turkey's alignment: political revolution in Turkey, economic collapse and enforced demobilization. It should attempt to determine to what extent the maintenance of the current alignment is dependent on continuing US aid and also the effect of UN reverses in Korea on Turkey's attitude toward the US.

This section should also examine the effect on US strategic interests if the Turks should abandon their pro-US alignment. What would be the psychological effect on Greece, Yugoslavia, and other Near Eastern countries if Turkey should change its alignment and seek an accommodation with the USSR?

IV. Probable Turkish Courses of Action in the Event of War and the Implications Thereof

A. Turkish reaction to Soviet or Satellite assault on Turkey itself. ~~(presumably not leading to general war)~~ This discussion should cover several contingencies: isolated action against Turkey as a whole; isolated action against the Straits area only; action against Turkey as part of a general war.

B. Turkish reaction to isolated Soviet or Satellite action against a nearby country (e.g., Greece, Yugoslavia, or Iran) and against a distant target (e.g., Southeast Asia). The discussion should assume that the isolated action would not lead (at least immediately) to general war. *How much ind. Turkish reaction depends on position US took.*

C. Turkish reaction to war between the US and China. What position would the Turks take if the Korean situation developed into full-scale war between the US and China? What course would the Turks follow if the UN forces, driven out of Korea, limited their campaign against China to blockade and aerial bombardment?

D. Turkey's role in a general war in which Turkey itself was not initially attacked. The determination and increasing military strength of the Turks make it clear that the conquest of Turkey would be a costly operation for the invaders. It appears likely that Turkey might well be by-passed by Soviet forces in the event of general war. Under such circumstances, to what extent would Turkey heed the desires of the Western powers? Would it attempt to remain neutral indefinitely?

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I Statement of the foreign policy orientation of Turkey.

short argument on soundness of this conclusion based on ideological, strategic, economic & political factors. (how important is independence, boost in SL, democracy to T.)

II Benefits to US in terms of this alignment spell out contributions to US security which proceed out of this alignment

III (or Corollary to II) Perils to US in any major changes in this alignment what would loss of T to USSR mean to western strategic posit in E. med & NE & ME.

Catastrophe.

If oil sit is as rep'd. maybe the next USSR offensive will be re oil. Turkey a target (This prob not the softest one) in this offensive.

IV What factors in

A Turkish Domestic sit

B World Situation

could effect a major change in T's alignment.

role of US in unres

role of USSR in unres unres

This wd not change conclusions much except # 5, which shd be changed any way.

5
If Turkey were taken over by the USSR.
What would be the effects on:

- 1 development of communist ideology among Near or Middle East peoples.
2. Political stability ^{orientation} of Arab League States, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan & India
3. ~~Exploitation~~ Western exploitation of oil in Gulf, Saudi Arabia & Iran et al. -
4. West's access to this oil pipe lines, ports,
- 5 Russia's access to this oil.
- 6 ~~Availability of NE real estate~~ for air & naval bases.
- 6 Strategic point of G.B., U.S., & K. & in